

SEATTLE LABOR CHORUS ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

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JIM DOUGLAS OF SEATTLE LABOR CHORUS

INTERVIEWEE: JIM DOUGLAS

INTERVIEWER: CINDY COLE

SUBJECTS: NEW ZEALAND; TAIWAN; STANFORD UNIVERSITY; PEACE CORPS; SOMALIA; VIETNAM WAR; BASKETBALL; MOGADISHU; STANFORD IN ITALY; STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY; FEMINISM; BLACK PANTHER PARTY; ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT; YALE LAW SCHOOL; LEGAL SERVICES; COMMUNITY LAW FIRM SAN FRANCISCO; REVOLUTIONARY; NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD; SASHA HARMON; MEXICAN AMERICANS; BROWNSVILLE; SOCIAL SECURITY DISABILITY; SEATTLE; LAWYER; COALITION FOR GOVERNMENT SPYING; SILME DOMINGO; GENE VIERNES; ILWU LOCAL 37; MIKE WITHEY; FERDINAND MARCOS; TONY BARUSO; LINE OF MARCH; GLOBAL VILLAGE; EARTHWATCH; HABITAT FOR HUMANITY; LOU TRUSKOFF; JANET STECHER; BASS; SEATTLE'S SLOWEST RISING FOLK GROUP; CLALLAM COUNTY; SEATTLE LABOR CHORUS FLYING SQUAD; ZIPPER SONGS; LAUREN TOZZI; NON-TRADITIONAL UNION APPROACHES

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[00:00:00] **CINDY COLE:** This is an interview of Jim Douglas for the Seattle Labor Chorus Oral History Project. The interview is taking place in Seattle, Washington on November 16, 2015. The interviewer is Cindy Cole. Jim, why don't you tell me where and when you were born and a little bit about your family.

[00:00:28] **JIM DOUGLAS:** I was born in 1946 in Davis, California, when it was a very small town. My dad was in the school of veterinary medicine at UC-Davis. My mom was a kindergarten teacher. I have a sister. They were not particularly political people, but they were very decent people. I got my values from them to sort of treat other people decently and be considerate of people less fortunate and all that stuff. And they sort of got me started in life.

A couple things that were really formative were that I lived for a year in New Zealand when I was six, and I lived for six months in Taiwan in 1957, a very hot time in Taiwan and China. We had an anti-aircraft gun outside our compound, and I think that was also a formative experience, realizing the world was a large and complicated place.

I went to Stanford. Finished Stanford and went into the Peace Corps in Somalia. I was in an agriculture and rural development project that was a complete fiasco, very poorly planned under very, very challenging circumstances. After six months of that pointlessness, moved into Mogadishu and did sports and recreation, mostly teaching kids how to play basketball. I was going to be the coach of a national basketball team before there was an assassination of the president and a military coup, and we were eventually thrown out. It was a very exciting experience.

[00:02:26] **CINDY:** Can you elaborate just a little bit more about that whole episode in your life?

[00:02:33] **JIM:** Sure. It was 1968. The choices really were to do something like the Peace Corps or go into the Army. The Vietnam War was hot and heavy and I knew I didn't want to do that. So, I ended up going to Somalia, which is on the east horn of Africa. I think people now know kind of where Somalia is; in 1968, nobody knew where Somalia was. We did our training on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in North Dakota on the banks of the Mississippi River. We built all our own buildings; dug a 30-yard-long, six-foot deep trench to run, I think it was a waterline. The idea was the buildings we left behind were going to be used for ice fishermen, somebody's bright idea.

After three months of training, we went to Somalia, where we arrived right after the wet season hit, which meant the roads were impassable. So, we had to spend more time in Mogadishu than any of us wanted to. They gave us more language training, and then finally, after 300 hours of language instruction in what they told us was the hardest language in the world for English-speakers to learn, they sent most of us to a part of the country where nobody spoke the language. [chuckles] I remember vividly, after some preliminary contacts with this village that I went to where there were people with me that spoke that language, drove into town in a red International Harvester pickup, got out and said, "Hello." And people said, "What did he say?" I mean, people did not understand when I said hello.

It sort of went downhill from there. We lived under very basic conditions in a tiny village in one of those circular huts made out of sticks and manure with a thatched roof. Nobody knew we were coming. Well, they knew we were coming but they weren't really prepared for our being there. No counterparts to work in agriculture. It was nuts. I stuck it out for about six months there, and then, like I say, moved into Mogadishu, where it was still a very, very different experience from home. It's an all-muslim country. Very little contact with outsiders in general. Not a whole lot of colonial presence. I mean, southern Somalia was colonized by the Italians.

I set out doing this sports and recreation thing, which worked quite well, actually. It had lots of challenges in doing things like getting cooperation to build a playground, and playground equipment was very problematic and challenging. But teaching kids to play basketball worked pretty well, and working with the other basketball

players—the adults who helped coach. At one point, I think we had something like 45 school teams. I started that program and pulled in these guys that I knew from playing basketball. It really was quite satisfying.

Then there was a very corrupt election and the incumbent party won, even though the opposition had a lot of support. A week after the installation of the President, the re-elected President was assassinated by somebody in his security team, and a week after that the army took over. They were sponsored by the Soviets, and national police, about the same size and importance, were sponsored by the U.S., so it was a real Cold War kind of a thing.

Things got more problematic. A number of us had Somali girlfriends who would hear all this stuff, that they were monitoring us, keeping track of us, doing all this stuff. Didn't affect us that much, although we did have a party raided where the Somali guests were taken off to jail, held overnight. Then I was also arrested as the person who nominally hosted the party, even though there were several of us renting the apartment.

Anyway, I had a sort of little kangaroo court kind of trial several weeks later, and we're fined \$14 or something. But some of the Somalis—one guy I'm remembering had been educated in the U.S. and had just gotten home, and he was just outraged. So he mouthed off to the judge the first day we were there and he spent several days in jail waiting for our next court appearance.

So, that was Somalia in a nutshell. I'm actually on the verge of publishing a book of my letters that I wrote at the time. That's why I have a lot of this on my mind.

[00:08:15] **CINDY:** Thank you. You mentioned that you had been to Stanford. I know we're kind of going back there, but anything stand out of Stanford that would have really influenced you for the rest of your life?

[00:08:33] **JIM:** Well, I went off to school as a small-town kid with pretty decent values, with some exposure to the rest of the world but I hadn't really thought about how the world operated. I got through the first couple of years at Stanford without that changing very much. Then I went to Stanford in Italy. I was actually in a fraternity house, which seems just very unlikely to me now. And it was a good bunch of guys; I'm still in close touch with a number of them, all, with one exception, very progressive, liberal people. But that was another ear.

But at Stanford in Italy, it was a cross-section of people at Stanford. Everybody was white because everybody at Stanford in the 1960s almost was white. But there were guys in SDS [Students for a Democratic Society], there were some women with very progressive political ideas. Just being exposed to that, even though I sort of pooh-poohed it, I remember very clearly a guy saying, "No, no, you should get to know more about the Black Panthers. They're not what the press tells you they are." I didn't actually act on much of that, but it got me thinking. By my senior year, I was completely opposed to the war. I don't think I did much about it, but there were debates in the fraternity house, and there were actually some divisions in the fraternity house that became very strong after I left.

That whole thing, and then going to Somalia, living in a village, seeing how the rest of the world worked, we wanted to have a letter signed by a whole bunch of volunteers that would be published in the English-language paper. The ambassador heard about it and had us to his beach house to talk about why this would be a bad idea. Just a number of experiences like that just accumulated, I think.

When I came home from the Peace Corps, the culture shock was horrible. I traveled for three months, then had about six months where I was just regrouping. Started law school. I went to Yale Law School, of all things, in the fall of 70, and it was really there where I think of myself as being actually politicized at Yale Law School, which seems bizarre. I was classmates with Bill Clinton; Hillary Clinton was a year older. Senators and judges

and future law school deans, and all these really important people. But it was a very liberal place, and you were encouraged to think really liberally.

I knew right away that I didn't really fit in much with my worldview, even as early in its development that it was at the time. I actually got a job working part-time in Legal Services. Then, it was in the ghetto in New Haven, working with people who were very political and very committed to servicing the poor and representing people that were really low-income, and talking to people about how they had holes in their floor and you could see the ground and all this stuff, just sort of the perils of poverty.

I had an epiphany, one of my two epiphanies in life. I was representing this guy—don't remember his name, don't remember the case—I remember clearly he was a probably 60-year-old black guy, horrible alcoholic, really beat up the way some alcoholics are—scabs on this face, scars, all that. It just struck me out of the blue that I could be him and he could be me. Sperm and an egg, that's how we both got started. It's like a light went on and I continued on a very clear path that I'd just started on.

After my first year of law school, went back to San Francisco and was what they now call an intern, which means I worked for free—they actually gave me \$100 at the end of the summer—with a place called the Community Law Firm. They were upfront Marxists, and when I walked in the first time they had pictures of Chinese peasants and people like that on the wall and I thought, I don't get that. Why is that here? And two and a half months later, I understood exactly why those pictures were there; that the international working class, a lot of people were in it and all kinds of countries and people at that point had taken up revolutions to try and change things in their countries. And I think it's fair to say that it made me—there are lots of definitions for a revolutionary, but it made me start to think like a revolutionary.

So, I did two more years of law school; helped start a chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, this very left-wing National Lawyers Guild, a national lawyers organization that had student chapters; began to study political thought more; audited a Spanish conversation class. I'd had Spanish at school growing up in the Central Valley of California, but my conversation ability wasn't very good, so this other guy and I got into this woman's conversation class. She didn't require us to do any homework. She said, "Just show up as frequently as you can and talk"—make these undergraduates have these conversations. She was very political, so it was just sort of one thing on top of another.

Finished law school. My wife, Sasha Harmon, whom I met in law school, was a year ahead of me. She came to Seattle to work for Legal Services. A year later I followed, and worked for Legal Services in Everett and Mount Vernon. Did that for six or eight months, and then went to work on the border in Texas, a job that I tried to get when I graduated; they hired somebody else; he was a very short-timer, and then they called me to see if I still wanted this job.

One of the most interesting things I've ever done was right on the southern tip of Texas near Brownsville, 80 percent Latino. This was the early and mid- 70s. I was there two a half years altogether. Just seeing the institutional racism and some overt racism was really eye-opening. I worked for a community organization that actually dissolved in a fistfight at the board of directors about a month before I got there. But they had the money from a foundation, so I represented almost all Mexican-Americans with various kinds of problems. The way I finally boiled it down was it was a farm worker practice with a civil rights twist.

Did that and then came back to Seattle. There was a split in the Farm Workers Union, and we decided that when it became politically significant which New Year's Eve party you went to that that wasn't why I went down there. Sasha had a standing offer to come back and work as a lawyer for the Skokomish Indian Tribe. She had

put that on hold to come be with me for part of the time in Texas, so we just packed up and moved back to Seattle.

People that I knew through the Lawyers Guild were planning to start a law firm. It sounded good to me. There was a collective of six or eight people altogether, and two of us who had spouses that worked—had jobs—could help finance the start of this project—started a firm. It actually worked, and I was there for 35 years. I started out doing general kinds of things, and then in the end did exclusively Social Security Disability, representing the people at the absolute bottom rung of the ladder; in later years, many homeless people, some immigrants. Very rewarding, and rewarding enough financially. I made a very decent living doing what seemed like exactly the right thing. Very seldom did I feel I was on the wrong side of a case.

I did that, and then I retired three years ago.

[00:18:32] **CINDY:** I know you had a couple of cases there, and one was the spying by the Seattle Police?

[00:18:42] **JIM:** Oh, yeah. In the early days, we were really political. It was a political time in Seattle. It was shortly after the Seattle Liberation Front and the Seattle Seven. One of the things I got involved with in the first couple years was a lawsuit against—we created a coalition called Coalition on Government Spying. It was the Lawyers Guild, American Friends Service Committee and the ACLU. We did a number of things that were really important.

The thing that I was most involved with besides the Coalition itself was a lawsuit that we brought against the City of Seattle Police Department to gain access to records they had, LEA—Law Enforcement Advisory something—and they actually had these off-the-books intelligence cards. They were on kind of index cards. And we sued to get access to that under the State Police Disclosure Law, and they resisted like crazy. Eventually, I guess we got access to some of them. We got a judge that treated us very decently—listened very carefully, but didn't give us much of what we wanted.

But at the same time, there was this more political component, where we lobbied the City Council to pass one of the very first anti-spying ordinances in the country. I was involved at the beginning of that, and then as the case took more time, other people were primarily involved with that. That was a very important result, and I think it still exists. I haven't read in the last number of years whether it's been used, but it's there to be used.

The other thing that I did was the last case I did that was not Social Security-related was as one of the lawyers for the families of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes who were murdered in their union hall June 1, 1981. They were community activists, they were progressives in what was then Local 37 of the ILWU, which dispatched predominantly Filipino and Filipino-American workers to fish canneries in Alaska—not entirely but predominantly. They were the leaders of a reform slate that had won virtually every position shortly before the murders. They didn't run against the president, which was part of the problem.

They were also anti- [Ferdinand] Marcos activists. They were not just labor activists. They were very conscious people politically. They were Marxists. Very conscious; had training about how to go about this kind of work. They were also anti-Marcos activists. Ferdinand Marcos was a dictator in the Philippines. There have been more repressive governments, but his was pretty repressive. They were active in the anti-Marcos opposition here.

Seven or eight years after they were murdered, we convinced a federal judge and a federal jury that they had been murdered as a result of a broad-ranging conspiracy by the Marcos government to monitor and operate against the opposition in the United States. It's a story where truth is really stranger than fiction, because eventually the union president was charged and convicted of responsibility for the murder, after we prevailed in

our civil case. They wouldn't charge him before, even though we tried for years to get the prosecutor to charge him.

The hitmen—that was our term for them—were union members who were in a street gang in the International District in Seattle, some Filipino-Americans, some Filipinos. We found a document [saying?] Marcos was thrown out—well, left the Philippines, was overthrown by people's power, and then moved to the U.S. Mike Withey—wonderful lawyer, great guy to work with all those years, very, very big-picture guy—thought we should depose Ferdinand Marcos, take his deposition. He had been deposed so we were going to further depose him. We took his deposition on his lanai in Honolulu spread out over four or days because he was quite ill at that point.

In the course of getting information from him, we got a whole bunch of papers, documents. Looking through there, two weeks before the murders there was a \$15,000 expenditure for special security projects. Low and behold, that was the same weekend that Tony Baruso, the union president, had gone to the Bay Area for a big pro-Marcos meeting, where they had a satellite link where Marcos participated in their meeting. That was very important evidence, and I could talk about it for hours, but people were so skeptical, the media was so skeptical that the first judge we had in federal court was so skeptical. He died. We got another Judge, Barbara Rothstein—good liberal judge—and lo and behold, we got a jury verdict in our favor, and ultimately collected some money from Ferdinand Marcos for the families.

It was one of the most rewarding things I've ever done. It was very trying, very stress-producing for everybody. I didn't wear one but the activists that went back into the union were all wearing bulletproof vests. They went back into the hall literally before the blood was dry on the floor. So it was really a remarkable effort on their part.

With a little bit of the recovery money, one of the families hired a screenwriter to write a script to tell the story, make a movie. Nobody would buy it, so there's never been the movie. There should have been a movie.

I was active in the organized left, a member of what was called Line of March. That's actually how I knew Gene and Silme. Actually, I was involved kind of peripherally in some of their projects, and then joined Line of March with Active on the Left through the Lawyers Guild in the 70s; Community for Justice for Domingo and Viernes and Line of March in the 80s. By then our son had hit eight or 10 years old, and then the 90s was Italy. [laughter] Yeah, stopped being as political.

My views really about the world and what's right and what's wrong really haven't changed much, but I don't think of myself as a revolutionary anymore, because I think revolutionaries actually have to do stuff that's intended to make revolutionary change. I decided—just as a rationalization, I think, more than anything else—that the world is a hard place to change, and so I just set out trying to make it a little better.

[00:27:48] **CINDY:** Thank you. I know that you've done a lot with Global Village, so why don't you just talk about maybe a couple of your times? I know you've done quite a bit there.

[00:28:00] **JIM:** Yeah. One of the things that I came to, about the time I stopped being active in the left, was started to do service travel. We did some as a family through Earthwatch, it's called. Made an amazing trip. I mean, I was in the Peace Corps in the bush in Somalia, and I can say that going to the Togean Islands in Indonesia was amazing, an amazing experience. We're on a little island. No roads. All the transportation was either walking through the jungle or taking dugout canoes around the outside. We were able to take our son, who was then 15, along. Changed his life, I think, for the rest of his life.

So, we did some Earthwatch projects, and then about the year 2000 or so, I took a sabbatical from work. I was pretty well burned out and just needed some time off. Started volunteering with Habitat for Humanity in Seattle once a week. Just wanted to do the physical labor, work outside. Just wanted to do good, but wanted it to change things up. Through that, I gained some skills, but also became aware of the Global Village program, which is the aspect of Habitat for Humanity International that sends teams of volunteers to other countries. They have Global Village in the Netherlands and Canada and U.S. There must be some other places.

But I started out going as a team member, just a volunteer. Did six of those to places like Guyana on the north coast of South America and Cambodia. And then the one that was particularly memorable was to Ghana, the far north of Ghana, up near what is not Burkina-Faso and the Sahara Desert. I'd been to east Africa before in the Peace Corps and afterwards, but I'd never been to west Africa. I just got the book and so I realized early in going on those trips that my skills fit pretty well with leading the teams. So I went through the training—was very impressed with the training—and started leading teams myself, including three more to Ghana and Cameroon, Zambia, Ecuador, Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Kenya. I'm sure I'm missing a few. Jordan. There were nine that I led altogether.

It was a wonderful experience. Some were more fun than others, but they were all rewarding. We always had some dealings with the family that we were building for. None of them ever would have had their own home without participation in Habitat. Our job was to go to a place that was ready to host us—prepared to feed us and that sort of thing—but where we would be added on to local workers building houses. So they could build a house much faster with us. They could build it for less money with us. Sometimes they would have two going at the same time, where they would only be able to have one going at the same time.

We frequently—really always—made a point, as early in the trip as possible, of visiting the place where the family was currently living. We saw places where the animals were in one room and they're in the other room. House made out of mud and bricks. A place where we'd ask the homeowner, "Why do you want a new house?" sort of a softball question. They'd say, "Well, in this house that wall over there collapsed and killed two of my kids." So you really feel like you're doing good work.

There's a whole argument about contributing to climate change from having a dozen people fly thousands of miles. You could criticize them all in one way of its being kind of paternalistic. But the way Habitat, because it's tied to a local Habitat program, who I, as leader, would work with to work as efficiently as was reasonable in the view of the local conditions—it made a lot of sense to me. We would do part of each person's fee was money to go to the Habitat program in the country, and then the team leaders were encouraged to do additional fundraising. So it was common for one of my teams to bring two or three houses' worth of money that would just go into the Habitat program. Because people buy their houses, but Habitat's got to have the money to build them. So, it was just putting more money, kind of a pay-it-ahead sort of thing.

The trips that I liked the best, because they attracted the most interesting kind of volunteer, and just because I enjoyed them the most, were four or five of them where we slept in the same village where we were working, usually in homes built by Habitat. So, we're living, sleeping on the floor, taking a bath or a shower out of a bucket. Usually no electricity. Usually hotter than the hinges of hell. You know, it just makes you tough, and it's how a lot of the world lives. I had a lot of particularly younger volunteers that weren't sure they could do it and all this stuff that really rose to the occasion, and a number of them told me, "This has changed my life. This has changed what I'm going to do with the rest of my life." Just felt very rewarding.

In my time in Africa, I could really make—there's always limitations based on the local situation, just a million factors. But particularly in Africa, I knew the kinds of things that might be available—market day, go watch a village soccer match, drumming and dancing, all that stuff. And we'd do as much of that that I could reasonably

arrange. It was always interesting for me, and I think it was really interesting for people particularly that had never been on anything like that.

I had to give it up for health reasons, but I'm really sorry about that because I just loved doing it. I would do a couple a year. It was a pain in the neck getting ready—interviewing people, all the pre-trip communication. But once we landed it was just all so . . . even all the bad stuff made for good stories, so I was very glad I did it.

[00:36:12] **CINDY:** What got you involved with music and the Seattle Labor Chorus? I know that you're in a band.

[00:36:21] **JIM:** I'm actually in two bands. From when I was a little boy listening to early rock 'n' roll on the radio and records, I could always hear the bass line. I always knew the bass line. My parents had me sing in the youth church choir for several years, and that's where I started singing. We didn't sing at home that I recall much. I was made to take piano lessons for a long time.

Then I just went about my business. Went off to college, and there was a guy that wanted to be a folksinger. I thought that was a little nutty, but we'd sing a little bit. Then, particularly after the Peace Corps, I came back for a summer and stayed in a house with several people in Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco, and a different friend from high school was just diving completely into playing the guitar and singing. We found a place to buy really cheap red wine, and we would drink and we would sing songs and I always had the harmony. I just knew how to sing the harmony.

Then in law school there was a group that sang. In Seattle, once we came back from Texas—well, even before going to Texas there were people, including Lou Truskoff and Janet Stecher in the Labor Chorus that we knew, I think, through United Farm Worker-related work. We would get together and groups would sing in the living room.

At some point, I thought, well, you know, since I can hear the bass, I ought to play the bass. So I made a washtub bass and played that for a while till it was hard on my back, and then I bought a full-size upright bass and started to play that. Got into a band—still in it, I've been in it 25 years and I'm the new one—called Clallam County, "Seattle's slowest-rising folk group."

Then, when the Labor Chorus came along, I think I probably got asked when it was first forming and I felt too busy. After a year or so, I didn't feel too busy anymore and started singing with the Labor Chorus and I've been at it ever since. I take great satisfaction out of my participation in the Labor Chorus. I like the singing where we work really, really hard to get it as good as possible, and then go perform for somebody as a chorus. I like that. I like that a lot.

But several of us started what we call the Flying Squad, where we usually invite ourselves to go sing for a picket line that we hear about, or a small demonstration or even a large demonstration that we hear about. Our own Lou Truskoff is brilliant at coming up with lyrics to suit the occasion. So we'll sing a familiar song—it could be—I'm blanking on it right now. Well, "Solidarity Forever" we just sing as "Solidarity Forever." "We Shall Not Be Moved" is an example. They're called zipper songs, where you give the people you're singing for a short lyric and then they sing along with you the rest of the verse, and the next verse you do a different line.

We sang most recently for two or three occasions with the Seattle teachers when they were on strike. Got some of them singing. Sometimes we get a lot of people singing, but sometimes they're more shy. Within the last year there was a day of sort of roving demonstrations about \$15 an hour. One was downtown, one was at Seattle U, there was another one somewhere. And then there was a sit-in at an intersection on Capitol Hill. Like 22-some people were going to get arrested, including Lauren Tozzi in the Labor Chorus. We stood on a corner and

organizers really didn't see how we would [lend?] anything and we just sort of said, "They were just watching. So why don't we sing?" We had about a dozen people there and sang at the top of our voices, and the people sitting in the middle of the intersection were singing along, and it really felt like we were doing exactly what we liked to do, which was sort of boosting their energy, helping them feel like the cultural aspects were being brought to bear on their issues.

We were completely worn out, because the police were very, very accommodating. They would arrest people one by one and they would talk to them first, and they would slowly lead them off to the bus. So we're just singing and people are singing as they're walking off, so it was really very gratifying. We've had other experiences like that that were just tremendously gratifying. That's one of the aspects of the Labor Chorus that I find particularly rewarding and fun. There's a little committee, but I'm sort of the de facto coordinator of that. Haven't done it for a while; need to come up with something here pretty quick.

[00:42:28] **CINDY:** Is there anything more that you'd like to talk about?

[00:42:36] **JIM:** There's just one thing that we talked about earlier that might be interesting for the historical record. I got involved with labor issues per se by becoming a member of the Labor Chorus. I'd always been sort of more on the civil rights, antiwar, political kinds of demonstrations for non-labor political issues. I had several good friends—very good friends—in law school who went on to be labor lawyers. The two I'm thinking of were both from working-class families. They went into law school knowing they were going to be labor lawyers. And I never quite got it. And labor law in law school—I think labor law anywhere—is really, really complicated. The law about secondary boycotts, you know? I would find it very interesting now. I took a class or two but it just didn't float my boat back in the day.

But by getting into the Labor Chorus many decades later—I've not been dismissive of labor, it's just not something—I'm not from a working-class background. I just didn't have any real tie, didn't have any real sense of connection. But singing for labor—like singing for the Newspaper Guild strike—was amazing. I was exposed—I mean, I'd been in demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of people, so it wasn't that I didn't know about that. But I came to realize—and I believe it very strongly now—that labor is one of the few sectors of our society that can actually make the powers that be—capital, the politicians, the one percent, whatever you want to call them—they can actually get their attention and maybe, under the right circumstances, make life harder for them.

Sometimes Scott Walker wins and then sometimes the Seattle teachers win, and it's because they've really got control. We all know about the decline in union membership and all that stuff, but a union still has some real control, if they choose to exercise it. I see that now and I think that with all the new approaches—like community organizing kinds of approaches and other approaches, what's called non-traditional union approaches that unions are taking now—I usually don't feel very optimistic about anything in this world these days, but there's a basis for optimism because you really see things happen. I'll be happy to support that until I can't anymore.

[00:45:56] **CINDY:** Thank you very much, Jim.